

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 265762  
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 /059 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/EE:DNJOHNSON:DJW  
APPROVED BY AMBASSADOR SHULMAN  
EUR - MR. LUERS  
EUR/EE - MR. ANDREWS  
EUR/SOV - MR. BROWN  
-----103482 060933Z /23  
R 051927Z NOV 77  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
INFO AMCONSUL ZAGREB

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE STATE 265762

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: YO, US, UR

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR SHULMAN'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE HIRC.

1. AMBASSADOR MARSHALL SHULMAN TESTIFIED BEFORE THE HIRC ON OCTOBER 26 ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. THE FULL TEXT OF HIS PREPARED STATEMENT HAS BEEN TRANSMITTED IN THE WIRELESS FILE, AND COPIES WILL BE POUCHED TO YOU.

2. IN ADDITION TO DELIVERY THE PREPARED STATEMENT, AMBASSADOR SHULMAN ANSWERED QUESTIONS FROM THE COMMITTEE. THE FOLLOWING EXCERPT ON YUGOSLAVIA, RAISED BY CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ, IS TAKEN FROM THE UNEDITED TRANSCRIPT, AND IS BASED ON GUIDANCE PREPARED IN THE DEPARTMENT.

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PAGE 02 STATE 265762

BEGIN QUOTE:

MR. SOLARZ: THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IN THE POST-TITO PERIOD IN YUGOSLAVIA--TO WHAT EXTENT ARE THEY LIKELY TO ATTEMPT TO AGGRESSIVELY EXPLOIT WHATEVER OPPORTUNITIES THAT MIGHT OPEN UP TO THEM, CONCEIVABLY TO

THE POINT OF SENDING IN THE RED ARMY IN RESPONSE TO AN INVITATION TO DO SO BY SOME FACTIONS WITHIN YUGOSLAVIA?

MR. SHULMAN: THIS DEPENDS A GREAT DEAL ON WHAT THE SITUATION IS IN YUGOSLAVIA AT THE TIME, WHETHER THERE IS CHAOS OR WHETHER THERE IS A RELATIVE COHERENCE.

SECONDLY, IT WOULD DEPEND ON WHAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD CALCULATE ITS OTHER COSTS WOULD BE.

I THINK WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THIS WOULD BE REGARDED VERY SERIOUSLY. I THINK ALSO THE SOVIET UNION CAN BE UNDER NO ILLUSIONS THAT IF IT WERE TO ENGAGE IN MILITARY OPERATIONS IN YUGOSLAVIA THEY WOULD DO SO UNDER THE MOST DANGEROUS AND DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE TERRAIN AND FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF THE PEOPLE. CERTAINLY THERE CAN BE NO COUNTRY THAT WOULD BE MORE FIERCELY RESISTENT TO AN EFFORT TO IMPOSE CONTROL.

MR. SOLARZ: WOULD IT BE YOUR VIEW THAT IF THE YUGOSLAVS HOLD TOGETHER IT WOULD BE UNLIKELY THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD ATTEMPT TO MOVE IN MILITARILY?

MR. SHULMAN: YES.

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PAGE 03 STATE 265762

MR. SOLARZ: AND IF THERE WERE FRAGMENTATION IT IS STILL DOUBTFUL THEY WOULD MOVE IN BECAUSE PRESUMABLY THAT WOULD UNITE THE YUGOSLAVS AROUND THE EFFORT TO RESIST.

MR. SHULMAN: THAT IS MY JUDGEMENT. END QUOTE. CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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**Enclosure:** n/a  
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**Subject:** AMBASSADOR SHULMAN'S TESTIMONY BEFORE THE HIRC.  
**TAGS:** PDIP, YO, US, UR, (SHULMAN, MARSHALL)  
**To:** BELGRADE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009